ВЫСШАЯ ШКОЛА ЭКОНОМИКИ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ПРИ УЧАСТИИ ВСЕМИРНОГО БАНКА И МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ВАЛЮТНОГО ФОНДА

XIV АПРЕЛЬСКАЯ МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ НАУЧНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ ПО ПРОБЛЕМАМ РАЗВИТИЯ ЭКОНОМИКИ И ОБЩЕСТВА

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A. Tatarko

National Research University Higher School of Economics ARE INDIVIDUAL
VALUE ORIENTATIONS
RELATED TO
SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL
CAPITAL?
A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS DATA
FROM THREE ETHNIC
GROUPS IN RUSSIA

There are a number of socio-psychological phenomena that contribute to the development of society. It is necessary to introduce a notion that would unite these phenomena as well as highlight the main ones. I propose to use the term of "socio-psychological capital". The meaning of the notion "capital" can be translated from Latin as "main".

Social capital can be operationalized as a resource that is encompassed in social networks and is accessible to the actors included in them. Thus, this concept has two important components: 1) the *resources* involved in social relations and not the people and 2) the *access* to such resources that actors have [Häuberer, 2011].

The holder of social capital is the group of people, but social capital, as a group resource, is formed from separate "investments" of group members. What do people "invest" into the group? In fact, their contribution is relationship with other members of the group and with the group as a whole, which can be defined as "sociopsychological capital". Socio-psychological capital of separate people at the group level leads to the emerging of community characteristics based on which it is categorized as having high social capital. In this case, the social community as a whole system begins to possess social capital as a certain set of tools for achieving its goals: compliance without sanctions, self-organization (community cohesion), and political activity. However, people's attitudes are at the heart of social capital: attitudes towards the social environment (trust, tolerance); attitudes towards the community as a whole (perceived social capital, social trust); attitudes towards one's belonging to a community (identity)). All these types of attitudes are the socio-psychological

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capital of the group. They are "invested" into a group by separate people, but belong to the group as a whole.

Attitudes are the key aspects of mental life along with mental processes, features and states. From the author's standpoint, groups with particular resources of attitudes are characterized as having high social capital. Thus, socio-psychological capital is the resource of psychological attitudes encompassed in social groups and accessible to individuals included in them. This resource is reflected in the behavior (creation of networks, associations, and self-organization) which is viewed as social capital. However, behind such behavior there are always certain attitudes towards groups as holistic entities, towards individual members of these groups and towards one's own membership in these groups (social identity).

1. The structure of the socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society

Since the concept of socio-psychological capital is new, up till now there are no theoretical approaches for studying its structure. In this report, we propose a theoretical approach to the structure of socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society. As socio-psychological capital is the basis for the formation of social capital and is linked to it, by offering a theoretical approach to the structure formation of socio-psychological capital, I set base on existing views on the structure of social capital.

Table 1 highlights the most valid indicators of social capital frequently encountered in the literature. The second column presents the corresponding indicators of socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society, i.e. the socio-psychological phenomena responsible for the formation of corresponding elements of social capital.

2. Perceived social capital

Perceived social capital is the attitude towards society as a whole. Attitude towards society is a very broad construct and, when speaking about social capital, it is necessary to study people's perceptions of the very attitudes in society that are considered as social capital. This construct can be described as "perceived social capital". It is not a sequential element along with other components of socio-psychological capital, rather it influences them; however, it is one of the elements of the psychological structure of society's social capital.

Empirical studies have shown that trust towards other people is mediated by perceptions of trust of others, or, as authors call it, "ascribed trust" [Van Staveren, Knorringa, 2007; Häuberer, 2011]. These findings can be well explained by the so-

Table 1. Indicators of social capital and their relation to indicators of socio-psychological capital

Indicators of social capital	Corresponding indicators of socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society		
Involvement in community, social activities (e.g. signing petitions), membership in various organizations [Putnam, Feldstain, 2000; Onyx, Bullen, 2000; Goldfinger, Ferguson, 2009; Veenstra, 2002]	, Civic identity (Valency, strength)		
Participation in volunteer activities [Lillbacka, 2006; Goldfinger, Ferguson, 2009; Carpenter, Daniere, Takahashi, 2003]			
Trust (generalized, social, institutional) [Lillbacka, 2006; Carpenter, Daniere, Takahashi, 2003; Goldfinger, Ferguson, 2009; Nahapiet, Ghoshal, 1998]	Trust: interpersonal trust; social trust and trust towards the members of other ethnic groups; institutional trust		
Social networks, individual social capital (the number of people to whom one can ask for help) [Lillbacka, 2009]			
Cognitive social capital [Lehis, 2008]: • general trust; • the level of involvement in a community or communities (identity); • trust towards a community or communities; • trust towards central government			

cial exchange theory [Schiff, 1992]. Before investing one's own resource of attitude in society a person should estimate how much this resource is already present in the society. Generally, people would find it unreasonable to invest where others are not investing. While economic capital is in bank accounts, and human capital is concentrated in the minds of people, social capital existing in the social structure of relations. Social capital is a resource that an actor must constantly *correlate* with his/her environment.

The perception of the level of social capital is important for one's own orientation towards success and economic activity. For example, Kilkenny, based on empirical research data from 800 small businesses in 30 towns in Iowa, found that perceived support of local community, combined with equality and support within companies had a positive and highly significant correlation with employee perceptions of success of their companies [Kilkenny et al., 1999].

3. Individual value orientations as a predictor of socio-psychological capital

Some authors studying the problem of social capital, considered the unity of values within a group or society as one of the indicators of social capital [Munene, Schwartz, Kibanja, 2005]. Bankston, arguing with Coleman, pointed out that social

capital cannot simply be a reflection of the structure of relationships between separate people, on the contrary, it must include values, beliefs and expectations that are maintained and transferred within the group [Bankston, 2004, p. 177].

When considering the issue of social capital, the use of value categories allows to overcome the problem of the so-called "black" or "grey" social capital — when the unity of certain groups is not used for the benefit of society but against it. In this regard, Gupta pointed out that classical concept of social capital does not distinguish between the trust in society created for social "good" versus social "bad". In fact, for example, the trust among members of mafia and other socially undesirable networks does not constitute social capital. Ethical values *guide* social trust which subsequently develops into "ethically oriented" social capital [Gupta, 2003, p. 975].

Thus, individual value orientations in these studies are generally viewed at group level (i.e. in an aggregated form), and the degree of unity within a group is regarded as one of the sources of its social capital. Although this is a valid position, it is, however, necessary to clarify it. Values affect human behavior in different modes; there are values that induce competition or lead to confrontation between different groups. In particular, there are reports showing that the rapid rise of materialistic value orientations that occurred among American youth in the 1970s and 1980s severely eroded levels of social trust [Rahn, 1998, p. 545]. Therefore, it is important to identify the groups of values that promote unity, i.e. formation of social capital.

While studying the influence of concept values on the socio-psychological capital we used the concept of values proposed by Schwarz as theoretical and methodological grounds for studying the impact of values on socio-psychological capital [Schwarz, 1992]. Schwartz identified a culturally universal value-motivational structure of an individual by highlighting 10 types of universal values (Universalism, Benevolence, Self-Direction, Conformity, Achievement, Security, Power, Hedonism, Tradition, and Stimulation) which he later combined into four value oppositions: Openness to Change — Conservation and Self-Enhancement — Self-Transcendence. It is easy to understand that not all of the 10 values identified by Schwartz can contribute to positive attitudes and the formation of socio-psychological capital.

According to the Schwartz's theory, the values are arranged on two axes Self-Transcendence — Self-Enhancement and Conservation — Openness to Change. Self-Transcendence values maintain positive relationships with other people. We suppose that Self-Transcendence values make contribution to the formation of socio-psychological capital. So, Self-Transcendence values may demonstrate positive impact on socio-psychological capital. Self-Enhancement values are responsible for individual achievement. So, Self-Enhancement values may demonstrate negative impact on socio-psychological capital.

Value oppositions Self-Enhancement — Openness to Change are responsible for the relationship between the person and society. Thus, these values also may be related to the socio-psychological capital, which person "investing" in the society.

The aim of the study — to assess the impact of individual values on socio-psychological capital of the representatives of various ethnic groups.

The need to take culture into account stems from the fact that in different cultures universal individual values are distributed unequally [Magun, Rudney, 2010]. This tendency becomes even stronger when the analysis is at the level of value oppositions, that is, when values that have logically common characteristics combine into groups. We can, therefore, assume that values learned in the process of socialization and cultural transmission affect an individual's attitude to society, i.e. the socio-psychological capital which lies at the base of social capital. In addition, culture itself affects social capital. There are studies showing that there is a relationship between cultural dimensions (in particular, individualism-collectivism) and social capital [Allik, Reallo, 2004].

4. Methodology

Participants of the study. The sample consisted of representatives of three ethnic groups living in the North Caucasus Federal District of Russia: Russians, Chechens and Ingush (Table 2).

Ethnia anana	N	S	ex	A (4!)
Ethnic group	N	male	female	Age (median)
Russians	103	49	54	31,5
Chechens	105	39	65	24
Ingush	109	54	55	23
Total	317	142	174	

Table 2. The characteristics of the study sample

Respondents were recruited predominantly at their workplaces (markets, factories, building sites, etc.) as well as among the interviewers' friends and acquaintances using the snowball technique. Interviews were conducted in person. The questionnaire was offered in Russian and took approximately 40 minutes to complete.

The variables and their indicators.

- 1. Socio-psychological capital:
- 1) Perceived social capital: Respondents rated how typical five different behaviours that express cohesion and reciprocity are among the people in their environ-

ment (e.g. behaving respectfully to one another). Items were rated on 5-point Likert-type;

- 2) Civic identity (self-developed instrument). We assessed two aspects of civic identity, strength and valence, each on a 5-point Likert-type scale;
- a) Respondents indicated the *strength* of their civic identity in response to the question: "Do you feel that you identify closely with your country (Russia)?". Response options ranged from 1 to 5;
- b) They indicated the valence of their civic identity in response to the question: which (one) of the following describes your feelings about your (Russian) nationality (pride, confidence, none, offence, shame)? According to the instruction, respondents were requested to choose one of them;
- 3) Generalized trust. We assessed individuals' general level of trust with the following question from the World Values Survey: generally speaking, do you feel that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Responses ranged from 1 to 5.
 - 2. Individual value orientations.

Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) contains 57 items in terms of value descriptions. The respondent is asked to rate how characteristic each value is of him/her using a scale from -1 to 7.

In accordance with the key, the average score is calculated for the 10 scales corresponding to the 10 types of motivation (or individual-level values) identified by Schwartz: Power, Conformity, Benevolence, Security, Tradition, Universalism, Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement [Schwartz, 1992].

5. Research results and discussion

Modeling structural equations we tested the hypothesis regarding the influence of value orientations on indicators of socio-psychological capital in three ethnic groups living in one region of Russia. The modification indices suggested that the greatest model improvement would be achieved by making some changes, therefore the final models differ in their structure from the originally tested ones. Table 3 presents the goodness-of-fit of models; Figures 1–3 present the graphical representation of all three models.

Figure 1 shows the relationship between value orientations and socio-psychological capital in the Russian group. This model has undergone several modifications in comparison to its original formulation. This and two others figures present standardized regression coefficients and the percentage of variance in the dependent variables which is explained by the total effects of independent variables.

Table 3. Fit statistics for structural models, the relationship between value orientations and socio-psychological capital in three ethnic groups

Group	χ^2	df	CFI	RMSEA	PCLOSE	n
Russians	45,7	36	0,98	0,04	0,54	103
Chechens	44,2	36	0,97	0,05	0,51	100
Ingush	27,2	37	1,0	0,00	0,99	109

The structural model presented in Figure 1 shows that in the Russian group the best predictive power have *Openness to Change* (Self-Direction and Stimulation) and the values of *Self-Enhancement* (Hedonism and Power). We should note that Achievement values had to be removed from the *Self-Enhancement* unit, as their presence in the unit worsened the fit of the model. Perceived social capital influences trust and civic identity. However, if perceived social capital affects generalized trust as a composite latent variable, civic identity affects only one of its components — "perceived equality".

Figure 2 shows the structural model of the influence of value orientations on socio-psychological capital for the Chechen group. We can see that in the Chechens

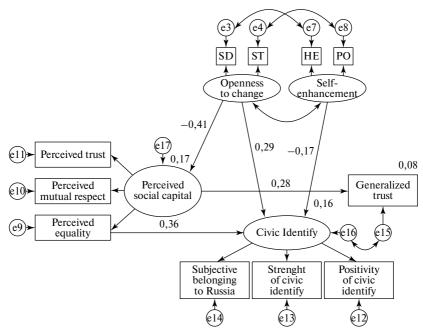


Fig. 1. Model 1, predicting the influence of value orientations on socio-psychological capital in the Russian group

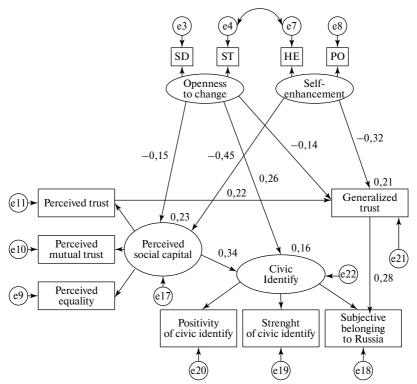


Fig. 2. Model 2, predicting the effect of value orientations on socio-psychological capital in the Chechen group

as well as in the Russians only the values of *Openness to Change* and *Self-Enhance-ment* predict socio-psychological capital.

Perceived social capital, as can see from Figure 2, has a positive impact on civic (national) identity. However, if in the case of civic identity, we have the integral effect of a composite construct, generalized trust is affected only by one component — perceived trust.

According to theory, such components of socio-psychological capital of multicultural society as civic identity and generalized trust should correlate weakly with each other; there is no clear theoretical basis for the causal relationship between them. However, in the Chechen sample, generalized trust has a significant impact on the level of the feeling level of belonging to Russia. Apparently, it is among the representatives of this ethnic group that generalized trust, as individual characteristics, may contribute to greater trust towards Russia as a whole and, consequently, to a greater feeling of belonging to Russia.

Figure 3 shows a model describing the influence of value orientations on sociopsychological capital in the Ingush group. In this ethnic group, comparing with the previous two cases, we found a relationship between the opposite poles of value oppositions — *Conservation* values (Security and Conformity) and *Self-Transcendence* values (Universalism and Benevolence). To improve the fit of the model, values of Tradition were removed from the unit of *Conservation*.

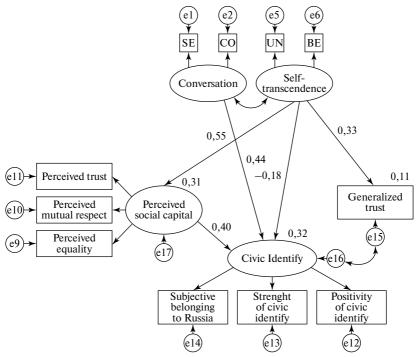


Fig. 3. Model 3, predicting the influence of value orientations on socio-psychological capital in the Ingush group

In the Ingush group, perceived social capital has not demonstrated predictive ability in relation to generalized trust; however, the standardized regression coefficient, which characterizes the influence of perceived social capital of society on civic identity, is quite meaningful.

Empirical data of this study indicate that value orientation better predict sociopsychological capital on the level of value oppositions than separately. At this stage, three facts can be stated:

1) value orientations are related to socio-psychological capital;

- 2) there are clear trends in the influence of value orientation on socio-psychological capital;
- 3) there are cross-cultural differences in the impact of value orientations on socio-psychological capital.

6. Conclusion

Value orientations have impact on socio-psychological capital. The share of the variance of socio-psychological capital explained by value orientations ranges from 8 to 32% on various indicators in different ethnic groups. Thus, the influence of value orientations on socio-psychological capital is not decisive but is essential.

Generally speaking, we can conclude that *Self-Transcendence* values have positive impact on socio-psychological capital, and *Self-Enhancement* values have negative impact. *Openness to Change* values positively influence civic identity, but negatively affect perceived social capital.

Value orientations, dominant in members of society, have an impact on sociopsychological capital. Therefore, the imbalance of the dynamic structure of value orientations (growing importance of certain values) can on the whole have a negative effect on social capital. Of course, social capital will not "suffer" if values of Benevolence and Universalism increase in society, but the increase of the importance of other value orientations may negatively affect social capital.

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